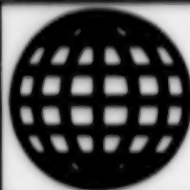


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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
No 21, 1 November 1989

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Li Dazhao and Marxism—Commemorating the Centenary of Li Dazhao's Birth

HK2911062189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 89 pp 15-19

[Article by Hou Qian (0186 0011 1489) of the Party School under the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee]

[Text] On 29 October this year occurred the 100th birthday of Li Dazhao, one of the important founders of the CPC and a pioneer of Marxism in China. With a feeling of reverence, we commemorate this great revolutionary pioneer.

In modern Chinese history Li Dazhao's name is closely linked to Marxism. He was the first among advanced intellectuals of the May 4th Movement to correctly select Marxism. After establishing his lofty trust in Marxism, he began to study and propagate Marxist theory and try to combine Marxist basic principles with China's society and revolution, thereby blazing a trail for Marxism in China. An explorer of the Chinese Communist movement, he formed a Marxist research society, set up a communist group in Beijing, and shared his efforts in founding the great CPC. Under arduous and difficult conditions, he waged worker and peasant movements, set up a revolutionary united front, and carried out armed struggles, thus making indelible historic contributions. Selflessly and heroically, he devoted himself to his ideals. Li Dazhao's ideological heritage and revolutionary exploits are precious spiritual wealth for us to inherit and carry forward.

I. A Correct Choice in Marxism

Among advanced intellectuals of the May 4th Movement, Li Dazhao was the first to correctly understand the significance of Marxist theory, to accept Marxism, and to use it as an ideological weapon to transform China. All this resulted from his response to the demand of the times and historical development.

The era in which Li Dazhao lived was one of profound changes in the country and the rest of the world. Domestically, drastic changes were taking place in Chinese society after the May 4th Movement. The revolution of 1911 sounded the death knell of the 2,000-year-old feudal autocratic system. After September 1915, new intellectuals, represented by Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and Lu Xun, waged a new cultural movement aimed at liberating the people's minds and pushing forward social progress, thus providing the necessary conditions for the systematic dissemination of advanced Western science and culture. As a social thesis, Marxism, naturally attracted the attention of Chinese intellectuals. But, truly, it was the international environment that enabled Li Dazhao and others to genuinely understand the scientific value of Marxism, to free themselves from the bonds of bourgeois democracy, and to bring about a fundamental change in their concept of the universe. The 4-year-long World War I, particularly the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, marked the complete failure of China's diplomacy. This deeply stimulated Chinese intellectuals' national feelings, awakened many from their fantastic dream of learning from Western capitalism, brought about a decisive change in their understanding of Western capitalist civilization, and helped them see, through the nature of that imperialist war. Li Dazhao said, "This war has caused enormous doubts about the authority of European civilization. Europeans themselves are forced to examine the real value of European civilization."¹ Since he was "doubtful" about Western capitalism, he inevitably considered making a new choice.

Li Dazhao coolly analyzed the cause of World War I and, based on this analysis, expressed his doubts about and negated social Darwinism and Malthusianist theory on population, thus drawing a correct conclusion about the essence of the war. He said, "Darwin's theory of evolution was written for Malthusianist theory. In my opinion, the war was caused partly by the imperfection of this theory and partly by careerists' manipulation of it."² He also explicitly pointed out the "big mistake" in the theory of evolution.³ "The real cause of present-day war is not the superfluous population or the shortage of food, but human avarice and laziness."⁴ The cause of war lies "in capitalist development," in the fact that "capitalists want to go beyond state boundaries by means of war, to build a world empire with their country as its center, and to form an economic organization for the benefit of their class."⁵ Li Dazhao's views suggest that he already understood the basic shortcomings of this theory. On the one hand, it protected imperialist aggression; on the other, it could not explain the basic force for social and historical development. This had a key bearing on his shift toward Marxism.

While Li Dazhao was doubtful about Western capitalist civilization, the Russian proletariat scored a great victory in the socialist October Revolution. Thus, the theory on socialist revolution was put into practice. This pointed out a clear direction and set a successful example for Chinese intellectuals who were still exploring ways to transform China. Full of joy, Li Dazhao warmly praised

the Russian October Revolution. From July to December 1918, he wrote several articles, including "Comparisons Between the French and Russian Revolutions," "People's Victory," and the "Victory of Bolshevism," which described the revolution as "a revolution in the early 20th century, a revolution based on socialism, a social revolution, and a world revolution."⁶ This revolution "is a great change that will affect civilization in future centuries."⁷ He pointed out, "In the face of what has taken place in Russia today, we hold our heads high and welcome the arrival of a new civilization in the world."⁸ He predicted, "The future world will be a world of red flags."⁹ Thenceforth, Li Dazhao logically shifted his understanding toward Marxism. After a period of study and thought he formally published "My Marxist Views" in September 1919. In this 30,000-character thesis, he systematically related the basic theory of Marxism, including historic materialism, economic theory, and the theory on socialism, refuting all sorts of erroneous views on Marxism. He stressed particularly that Marxism "is a self-composed, organic, and systematic entity with an inseparable and unbreakable relationship." "It is utterly impossible to test its socialism in isolation from its historical concept." "Its theory on class competition serves as a golden line linking its three major principles."¹⁰ He paid particular attention to explaining historic materialism and the theory on class struggle in Marxist books. He said that although Marx did not write books on historic materialism, his *Das Kapital* was "thoroughly based on historical materialism."¹¹ Li Dazhao compiled Marx's explanations on historical materialism for readers to learn. He pointed out that the theory on class struggle was "closely connected" to "historical materialism," and it completely explains "application of past history." It also made us realize the overthrow of capitalism, "The realization of socialism will be utterly impossible without the people. And this is a great contribution of Marxism."¹² This suggests that, as soon as Li Dazhao learned Marxism, he could immediately master the basic views and stand, pay attention to its entity, and accurately understand and apply it. Here he had established a correct point of departure for his attempt to combine Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and to explore ways for the Chinese revolution.

II. Disseminating Scientific Marxist Theory

As soon as Li Dazhao established his trust in Marxism, he began to work for the dissemination of scientific Marxist theory. In 1920 he set up a Marxist research society and a socialist research society at Beijing University and organized some comrades to translate classic Marxist works and carry out systematic research into Marxist theory. He took advantage of being a professor at Beijing University to explain Marxist theory in the classroom. Beginning in September 1920, he provided courses on "historical materialism," the "history of ideology," the "main theory of historical science," and "socialism and social movements" in the history, economics, politics, and law departments of Beijing University. He also went to girls' colleges and teachers' colleges

to lecture on the "history of women's rights" and the "history of society." During these lectures he explained to the students the emergence of historical materialism and criticized historical idealism; he explained the development from utopian socialism to scientific socialism in order to help students understand the orientation of historical development; and he expounded the basic principles of Marxism to encourage the students to have faith in Marxism and analyze problems with Marxism. Li Dazhao personally put out magazines or used his influence to encourage others to publish magazines. He propagated classic Marxist works and translations through magazines like MEIZHOU PINGLUN [WEEKLY COMMENTARY], XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH], and CHENBAO [MORNING NEWS]. He also ran publications suitable for workers, such as GONGREN ZHOUBAO [WORKERS WEEKLY] and LAODONG YIN [VOICE OF LABORERS], which explained Marxist revolutionary theory in simple words.

In the course of propagating Marxism, Li Dazhao took serious account of Marxist theoretical study and the study of Marx's original works. In his opinion it was not easy to really master Marxism. He said, "I have devoted the first part of my life to the study of Marxism, but I have acquired only a general idea of what he explained in his works. This cannot be considered having thoroughly understood 'Marxism.'"¹³ He therefore said on many occasions that he "knew only a little" about Marxism.¹⁴ He frequently told his students to "systematically study *Das Kapital*" when they studied Marxist theory.¹⁵ He set a good example in this respect. Li Dazhao proposed that it was necessary to make theoretical preparations for the study of socialism. In his article "Investigation on Chinese Socialism and the Methods of Practicing It," published in January 1921, Li Dazhao pointed out that the realization of socialism in China, though difficult, was inevitable and that socialism was their target of endeavor. He said the method to realize socialism "was difficult." Therefore, "to enable ordinary people to understand socialism, it is necessary to translate simple articles from foreign countries on socialism so as to study the relationship between China and socialism and the methods of realizing socialism."¹⁶ To help all comrades in the party understand correctly the relationship between the Chinese and world revolutions, he personally translated Marx's article "Chinese Revolution and European Revolution" and recommended it to party members.

The dissemination of Marxism in China was not smooth; it always came under attack by reactionary forces and hostile ideological trends. In the course of propagating Marxism, Li Dazhao carried out an unyielding struggle against all reactionary forces that tried to slander Marxism, thereby preserving the purity and scientific nature of Marxism. In the latter half of 1920, the British philosopher Russell came to China to spread guild socialism. Zhang Dongsun and Liang Qichao took advantage of this opportunity to advocate that it was an urgent task for China at that time to invigorate enterprises and develop capitalism. They also asserted that China was not qualified to comment on socialism. Li

Dazhao strongly refuted these views. In his article "Socialism and Social Movements," he reviewed guild socialism and pointed out that "whether or not the guild socialism proposed by Russell could be practiced in Britain remained to be studied." "We believe there is still a lack of interest in this theory, therefore it will not be of any value to study it." "It is difficult to use peaceful means to put production under guild socialist management at a time when there is class struggle."¹⁷ In March 1921 he published two articles, entitled "Enterprises Under Socialism" and "Chinese Socialism and World Capitalism," criticizing the erroneous views of Zhang Dongsun and others. He explicitly pointed out, "In theory and practice it is impossible to protect the implementation of capitalism in China."¹⁸ While refuting all sorts of misunderstandings on socialism, Li Dazhao also made an incisive analysis of the socialist development trend in the world and how to practice socialism. In his opinion, "socialist theories in different countries are tending toward uniformity, with a general orientation characterized by Marxism"; "we should be aware of this trend but, at the same time, should not overlook the characteristics of socialism in different countries."¹⁹ "Because different countries have different conditions, we are required to practice what is suitable and to put into effect a new system that combines generality with particularity (generality refers to what is universal and particularity to what is specific). When socialism takes place in China in the future, it will be different from socialism in Britain, Germany, and Russia..."²⁰ His analysis of the socialist development trend in the world and emphasis on the "characteristics" of socialism in different countries comprised a deep criticism of antisocialist ideas and provided a new understanding of scientific socialism, which guided the people in exploring different types of socialist roads "suitable for their countries." His profound understanding of socialism in the course of propagating Marxism has stood the test of today's socialist construction.

Li Dazhao made important achievements in disseminating Marxism. He nurtured China's first generation Marxists and trained a group of "elite people who could really explain Marxist theory and play some brilliant role in China."²¹ Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Zhongxia, Zhao Shiyan, and Gao Jun accepted Marxism and took the revolutionary road under Li Dazhao's influence and guidance.

III. Combining Marxism With the Actual Conditions in Chinese Society and the Chinese Revolution

As an advanced ideology from Western society, Marxism faced a problem in the course of its introduction to China. The problem was how to combine this foreign ideology with the actual conditions in Chinese society and the Chinese revolution. This involved an attitude toward Marxism. On this question, Li Dazhao set a glorious example for us. He resolutely objected to taking a dogmatic attitude toward Marxism and stood for thinking independently, proceeding from reality, and combining theory with practice.

When he was still a bourgeois democrat he had already paid close attention to analyzing and distinguishing foreign ideologies. He never had blind faith in any theses. He stressed that one should be good at thinking and should not be "too lazy or servile."²² In July 1918 he clarified his attitude toward Western culture in an article entitled "Hard-Line and Free Politics" by saying, "Western scholars have written different books and theses because they live in different conditions, environments, times, and societies. Some of us have made remarks without taking account of China's present situation or the era and environment in which Western philosophers live. This is like a blind man riding a blind horse and speaking of a dream in a dream."²³ After he became a Marxist he reiterated this attitude in many articles. In "My Marxist Views," he stressed, "The establishment of a thesis is closely related with the era and environment." Therefore, "we should not use a thesis written in an era or environment to explain history, nor should we apply this thesis to our present society or negate the value of the era in which the thesis was written or any special discoveries in that era."²⁴ With this understanding, he paid particular attention to combining theory with practice and to applying theory to practice. In an article entitled "Commenting Again on Problems and 'Isms'," he explicitly pointed out, "An 'ism' always has the two aspects of the ideal and the practical. When an ideal is applied to actual politics, different times, different environments, and different events must be taken into account. When an 'ism' is used as a weapon, it must be adapted to changes in the situation. A socialist must study how to apply his ideal to the actual environment in which he lives if he wants his 'ism' to produce some influence in the world."²⁵ This was Li Dazhao's attitude toward foreign ideologies, including Marxism. His attitude formed a striking contrast to dogmatism and national cultural nihilism. This was the essential part of Li Dazhao's ideas. It was precisely on this ideological basis that he could creatively apply Marxism to China's actual conditions and blaze a trail for Marxism in China.

Li Dazhao made contributions to applying Marxism to China's conditions. First, he combined Marxism with the Chinese worker movement. In October 1920 he formed a communist group in Beijing. To promote the combination of Marxism with the worker movement, he ran a school in Changxindian where he propagated revolutionary ideas to the workers to improve their class consciousness. He personally guided the worker movement in Beijing, designated Tianjin and Tangshan as the key regions of the worker movement, and sent people to wage strikes along railways and in coal mines in Shanhaiguan, Tangshan, and Zhengzhou. He encouraged students to conduct social surveys among the workers so as to improve their rational knowledge of the industrial workers.

Second, Li Dazhao made active and useful explorations on the peasant issue, the basic issue to be solved in the Chinese revolution. He consecutively published several articles, such as "Youth and the Countryside," "Land and Peasants," and "Red-Tassel Spear Associations in Shandong, Henan, and

Shaanxi." In these articles he aired his correct views on the Chinese peasant revolution. He said that, because China was an agricultural country, the entire people could be liberated only when the peasants were liberated. Therefore, he called on educated young people to go to the countryside "to do something that may help develop the countryside."²⁶ He also explicitly pointed out, "In a semicolonial China with a backward economy the peasants account for more than 70 percent of the total population and occupy an important position among the people," therefore, "when appraising the source of strength for the revolution, the peasants must be taken as an important component."²⁷ He predicted, "If the vast numbers of peasants can be organized into joining the Chinese nationalist revolution, this revolution is bound to succeed soon."²⁸ He also pointed out the necessity to set up the peasant revolutionary armed forces and to transform the red-tassel spear associations in north China, all aimed at waging a "large-scale peasant movement."²⁹ Li Dazhao's views and proposals were proved completely correct by the subsequent practice of the CPC as represented by Mao Zedong.

Third, Li Dazhao was the initiator and executor of the party's united front policy. Prior to the 2d CPC National Congress, he expressed the hope that all doctrinists would discard their arbitrary judgements and prejudices and objectively consider China's actual conditions for the purpose of "building a commonly recognized united front." After this congress, at a special party meeting in Xi Hu, he seconded the suggestion of Communist International representative Ma Lin about persuading comrades in the party to accept the Communist International's proposal to form a revolutionary united front with the Kuomintang [KMT] and bring about KMT-CPC cooperation. For this reason, he contacted Sun Yat-sen on many occasions to urge him to cooperate with the CPC and to help him draw up a reorganization program for the KMT. In January 1924 he attended the 1st KMT National Congress and, as a member of the five-person presidium, participated in all organizational work of the congress, thus making an important contribution to the realization of KMT-CPC cooperation. After the congress he took an active part in forming KMT organizations. Under the banner of the KMT, he shared his efforts in breaking up and demoralizing the northern warlords. He eventually succeeded in encouraging Feng Yuxiang to change his attitude, take part in the nationalist revolution, and launch the northern expedition.

Fourth, Li Dazhao was a staunch revolutionary and also a learned intellectual. He used Marxist stand, views, and methods to study Chinese philosophy, history, economics, education, and law. He wrote many books and expressed creative ideas. He was a Marxist explorer in many fields of the social sciences. His ideological heritage has enriched the cultural treasury of the Chinese nation.

Li Dazhao fought a whole lifetime to propagate Marxism. For the success of the Chinese revolution and the realization of communism, he unflinchingly upheld his revolutionary faith in the face of increasingly serious white terror and

persisted in leading the people in north China in their revolutionary struggle until he gave up his young life.

Today, when we are commemorating Li Dazhao, we should learn his firm trust in and scientific attitude toward Marxism and his spirit of daring to explore. This will spur us on in studying and propagating Marxism, in combining Marxism with China's socialist construction and in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is the best commemoration for this revolutionary pioneer!

Footnotes

1. *Selected Writings of Li Dazhao*, Vol 1, p 565.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, pp 365, 366.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 594.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 367.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 594.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 573.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 572.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 575.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 603.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 50.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 55.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, pp 60, 63, 64.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 46.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 547.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 633.
16. "Discovery of Three Missing Articles by Li Dazhao," *Gazette of Liaoning Teachers' University*, Edition 5, 1986.
17. *Selected Writings of Li Dazhao*, Vol 2, p 435.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 454.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 429.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 376.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 540.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 660.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 547.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, pp 68-69.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 34.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, p 648.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 824.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 834.
29. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p 876.

On the Root Cause of the Phenomenon of Corruption—Analysis of Relationship Between Bourgeois Liberalization and the Phenomenon of Corruption

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Master Philosophy and Reap a Lifetime of Benefit From It—On Leading Cadres Studying Philosophy

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[Article by Niu Xinfang (3662 2946 5364)]

[Text]

I

In the last 10 years several proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have repeatedly called, in earnest word and with sincere wish, for a study of Marxist philosophy. In March 1981 Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "Comrade Chen Yun suggests that we encourage study, primarily the study of philosophy and the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong. This suggestion is very good. In my opinion we should launch a study campaign to study the works of Marx, Lenin, and Comrade Mao Zedong."¹ In the last few years, in almost every conversation with leading comrades, Comrade Chen Yun has urged party cadres to study philosophy, pointing out the significance of a study of philosophy for good performance in various tasks. And at the rally celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, an appeal was made by Comrade Jiang Zemin: "We should encourage within the party—particularly among high-ranking cadres—the study and research of Marxism and the fundamental theories of Mao Zedong. In particular, we should encourage the study of Marxist philosophy, with the aim of securing a scientific outlook and methodology." Why do the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation call again and again on leading cadres to study philosophy? The necessity and urgency of studying philosophy is determined by the objective needs of the historical mission borne by the party, the present conditions of leading cadres and the drive to oppose bourgeois liberalization.

The founding of the socialist republic ended thousands of years of rule by the exploiting classes and the long history of imperialist persecution on the mainland. Since then, Chinese people have become masters of their own country and society. In the 40 years since the founding of New China, we have scored brilliant achievements, built the country from a poverty-stricken, semicolonial, and semifeudal land into a lively and dynamic socialist state enjoying a basic level of prosperity. Although we have made serious mistakes during this period, they have all been corrected through our own efforts. Today's achievement was attained with the lives and blood of revolutionary martyrs and the toil of the masses. It was not easy

to win this accomplishment, but it will be much more difficult to consolidate and develop it. To further consolidate and develop this accomplishment represents a fundamental interest for our country and our people. It is an unshirkable historical mission for Communist Party members, particularly for party leading cadres. Moreover, as a great country with a 1.1 billion population, we have a decisive function and influence on the international communist movement and the whole world. In view of the party's enormous responsibility for socialist construction in China, and its important international position, it is obvious that we must upgrade the quality of all party members, especially leading cadres, so that they will have not only the virtue of wholehearted devotion to serving the people, but also the ability to predict and control the development of events. Numerous facts have proved that the most important method for achieving this goal is learning (including learning through practice) and grasping dialectic materialism and historical materialism. In the past we have stressed learning Marxist philosophy. The reason we do it again today is the appearance of new problems and new conditions. First of all, international reactionary forces have changed their strategies in their attempt to topple the socialist system. With the failure of armed intervention, they now employ the tactic of political, economic, and cultural "peaceful evolution." Armed intervention, with knives against knives and guns confronting guns, would only heighten the people's vigilance, whereas "peaceful evolution" would lead people to believe that the world is now peaceful and harmonious, thus paralyzing their fighting spirit and their vigilance. In the struggle between subversion and antisubversion, "peaceful evolution" and anti-"peaceful evolution," and infiltration and anti-infiltration, to hold the ground and to destroy the dream of the international bourgeoisie "to melt away socialism," it is necessary for each and every party member, particularly leading cadres, to grasp Marxist philosophy and, with it, to raise their power of perception and thus strengthen their perseverance in communism. Second, to realize the party's basic line of "one center and two basic points," which will organically unite adherence to the four cardinal principles with reform and opening up, we must fully understand that reform and opening up proceed under the principle of upholding the four cardinal principles, which in turn is given new content and new significance by reform and opening up. Only thus will both be mutually promoting and reinforcing, and only thus will there be a guarantee that we will proceed along the royal road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. For all these purposes, we are required to grasp dialectic materialism, to conduct affairs according to this doctrine. We are required to be good at summing up past experiences and lessons as well as thinking about and opening up the future. The past enormous achievements will not deter us from mentioning mistakes we made, nor will revelations of slip-ups lead us to negate the results. In exercising choices between two equally difficult options, we will not procrastinate or be indecisive, nor will we jump to conclusions. Instead we will

make a careful consideration and make the best decision. Comrade Zhao Ziyang treated the four cardinal principles in a lax manner, supported bourgeois liberalization, cracked down on and suppressed comrades upholding Marxism, and, as a result, created a social atmosphere where "glory goes to he who does not learn Marxism." In recent years, our party has implemented the policy of the "four transformations" of cadres. A large batch of young cadres have assumed leading posts at various ranks. Lacking basic training in Marxism-Leninism in the first place, and without remedial training afterward, these young cadres suffer from a contradiction between leadership and ideology. It is true that many comrades have made much effort to acquire professional knowledge and management expertise—this is only to be recommended and it is indeed very important—but we often forget the following truth: While it is impossible for one to be a medical expert as well as a physicist or botanist, given the fact that Marxist philosophy penetrates everything, each leading cadre should have knowledge of Marxist philosophy. The chief task of a leading cadre is to understand situations, formulate and carry out policies, and analyze and resolve problems. Without an understanding of philosophy, how can we expect a cadre to understand a situation, to formulate a policy, to unite a policy with practical conditions in implementing it, or to handle well contradictions and resolve problems? Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "Now there are many cadres who know nothing about philosophy. Improvement must be made in terms of thinking methods and ways of conducting tasks."² To raise leadership capacity, leading cadres must study philosophy, which is also a task of strategic significance for party building. Comrade Chen Yun often said, "Master philosophy and reap a lifelong benefit from it." This is not his individual—and very scientific at that—summing up, but that of countless excellent leaders.

A look at party history reveals that every time the study of Marxist philosophy was given serious attention, our enterprise rose to a new level. During the Yanan Rectification Movement, all high-ranking cadres and the wide mass of party members seriously studied the works of Marx, Lenin, and Comrade Mao Zedong, as a result of which the understanding of the whole party was unified and the ideological foundation was laid for the victory of the democratic revolution nationwide. On the eve of national liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party to renew the study, which, following our entry into the city, ensured a quick economic recovery and a successful conclusion of socialist transformation. Following the smashing of the gang of four, the great nationwide discussion concerning the criterion of truth was a reeducation of Marxist theory of knowledge. It raised the consciousness of the whole party for the implementation of the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, scored a great victory of bringing order out of chaos, and made ideological preparation for upcoming reform and opening up.

As early as 1938 Comrade Mao Zedong had said, "In terms of bearing chief responsibility, if there were in the

party 100 to 200 party members who have systematically, not fragmentarily, and practically, not shallowly, grasped Marxism-Leninism, it would enhance enormously our party's combat capacity and hasten our work of defeating Japanese imperialism."³ Practice has proved this argument valid. The situation and missions we are facing today are extremely more complicated than when Comrade Mao Zedong made this statement, and far more so than during the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's. Therefore, to fulfill our historical mission, we need to train more comrades who "systematically, not fragmentarily, and practically, not shallowly, grasped Marxism-Leninism." Comrade Jiang Zemin's sharp criticism and appeal to "strive to correct the situation where many leading cadres are preoccupied with daily affairs, slacken their theoretical study, and neglect ideological conditions," is aimed at resolving this problem. We must adopt practical measures to turn the study of Marxist philosophy into a self-conscious action and to create a wave of enthusiasm for studying and applying philosophy throughout the party, so that the theoretical standards and political sensitivity of all party members, especially leading cadres, and middle- and high-ranking cadres, can be raised.

II

The fundamental purpose of studying Marxist philosophy is to establish a proletarian stand, viewpoint, and method and, most important, to raise the leading cadres' stand, viewpoints, and levels of method in analyzing and handling problems.

The stand refers to the ground and attitude taken in observing things and handling problems. In observing and handling problems, anyone must take a stand; it will be either this stand or that. The class stand means taking root in a certain class and reflecting its fundamental interests. The proletarian stand represents the fundamental proletarian interests. But, since the historical mission of the proletarian class is in line with the laws of social development, it also embodies in a concentrated manner the interests of the whole people. Therefore, the proletarian stand is the only completely correct stand, central to and carrying significance of the first order for communists in the process of understanding and transforming the world. By viewpoint we mean the basic Marxist viewpoint, for instance, the viewpoint that material determines the spirit, production forces determine production relations, economic foundation determines the superstructure; and the viewpoint of the tremendous reaction of production relations and economic foundation to production forces and superstructure; that of seeking truth from facts; the historical and dialectic development viewpoint; the viewpoint of classes and masses, and so on. By method we mean dialectic materialism. In the process of understanding and transforming the world, people would encounter various problems requiring analyses, judgments, syntheses, conclusions, and countermeasures. In this process, whether or not the person is aware of it, he will follow a certain method. The only difference is whether

the method he follows is correct or wrong. The correct, scientific method is dialectic materialism. Comrade Mao Zedong said that dialectic materialism is a world outlook as well as a methodology. It considers the world as a developing, materialistic world—this is the world outlook. Observing this world, studying the problems in it, directing revolutions, undertaking tasks, engaging in production, commanding battles, and criticizing somebody's shortcomings is methodology. Apart from this, there is no other systematic methodology. The unity of Marxist world outlook with methodology is also the unity of the proletarian stand, viewpoint, and method. When we say that "the proletarian stand is decisive and carries significance of the first order," we mean that Marxist philosophy is the world outlook of the proletarian class, and not the world outlook of any other class.

The fundamental purpose of studying Marxist philosophy and grasping the correct stand, viewpoint, and method, is to enable our subjectivity to reflect objectivity, without being compromised by any foreign elements. This is the fundamental condition for every successful task. On the other hand, the cause of failure of every task, fundamentally speaking, is the violation of this basic condition. It may be easy to think, but surely very hard to carry out, that we can practice seeking truth from fact, maintain objectivity, and take a comprehensive view of problems. Only with a grasp of dialectic materialism—this scientific world outlook and methodology—will we be able to reflect as far as possible objectivity with subjectivity.

Objective affairs are very complicated. They are not only interrelated, but in a constant state of change and movement. As it stands, status and motivation among various observers differ, the angle at which each observer approaches a problem also differs, with the result that a part might be taken as a whole. Comrade Chen Yun once gave a simple but vivid example: "Let us say there is a teacup on a table. A person opposite the cup may see it with a flower, but not the cup's handle. Another person standing on another side of it may see the cup's handle, but not the flower. Both of what they see are parts, not the complete picture of the teacup."⁴ This illustrates the frequent nature of the possibility of bias. Many of our cadres work diligently under the subjective wish of taking good care of the affairs of the people. But things often go against their wishes and they find themselves making various kinds of mistakes. If they looked at their mistakes, they would discover that they are all related to the partial nature of their concepts. Our party has, since the very day of its founding, been engaged in fierce class struggle. Only after decades of class struggle did we overthrow the three big enemies and establish New China. Following the founding of the country, we focused on the contradiction between the proletarian and capitalist classes and triumphantly concluded the socialist transformation of the ownership of production material. However, despite the completion, on the whole, of socialist transformation, class struggle continued to be the guiding view in the observation and

handling of new political, economic, and cultural problems and contradictions cropping up in the development process of socialist society, resulting in widening class struggle. In this light, the criticism and correction of the mistake of "class struggle in command" was entirely appropriate. But, regrettably, thereafter many of us forgot the still strong desire of international reactionary forces to put us to death, failed to perceive the hostile forces within the country. For many of us, while theoretically recognizing the continued existence of class struggle in certain areas, in reality, it has become idle talk. All this represented a swing from one extreme to another. It was the lesson of the bloodshed between this spring and autumn that awakened people from slumber. To overcome partiality and to secure a complete picture, we must learn dialectic materialism. Of course, partiality cannot be fully avoided, but it can doubtlessly be reduced to a considerable degree.

One of the ways to avoid partiality and to gain full understanding is to exchange opinions with others as often as possible. In this way a partial concept can be gradually widened to a complete understanding, dimly grasped situations can be gradually brought into clearer resolution, and divergent opinions can be gradually bridged. The most important thing in opinion exchange is openness to other people's opinion. Even in the case of consensus, we should hypothesize dissent to conduct debate. If the agreed proposition can be refuted, it is still not perfect; if not, then we can safely believe in its correctness. For a leader, a dissenting voice is worth more than anything. It is extremely valuable as a necessary condition for gaining complete understanding.

Another important way to gain complete understanding is making comparisons. Various programs must be compared in studying issues, formulating policies, and making decisions. Marx said, "If each development is studied and comparison is made between them, we will easily find the key for understanding this phenomenon."⁵ Two most frequently employed comparisons are vertical and horizontal comparisons. A vertical comparison compares a thing's past with its present state. If we compare our country's present production levels, people's living standards, and scientific development with their status prior to the liberation, we cannot avoid the conclusion that only socialism can save and develop China. A horizontal one compares a thing with others of its kind, and methods for improvement and development can be found in the differences and distances between them. We must master and grasp dialectically both vertical and horizontal comparisons, and not overvalue one at the expense of the other. Only thus shall we understand things correctly and comprehensively.

After making comparisons there should be a time for reconsideration as we must not arrive at decisions hurriedly. That is to say, a preliminary decision should be left aside for reconsideration and further opinion. A view of some problems may be held to be correct at one time but ceases to be so or entirely so after some time.

Understanding takes a process, it cannot be achieved at one go, nor can there be instant, perfect decisions.

"Opinion exchange, comparison, and reconsideration"—this is the method put forward by Comrade Chen Yun as early as the Yanan period, which he has since reiterated and reemphasized. Practice has proved this method to be very scientific. We should learn to grasp this method through the study of Marxist philosophy. It is essential and extremely important for improving our leadership at various levels and the standards of leaders of various ranks.

III

Without knowledge of philosophy we will not make good leaders. In learning philosophy, leading cadres should set an example with respect to "style of learning" by, as remarked by Comrade Chen Yun, concentrating on "penetrating" the subject.

Most of our leading cadres have studied and come into contact with philosophy before. But there are people who, after lifelong philosophical study, with materialism and idealism, dialecticism and metaphysics constantly on their lips and doing well in expounding theories, violate Marxist philosophy and make various mistakes the instant they come down to analyze and solve problems. The reason is they have devoted their energy to philosophical concepts but have failed to grasp the essence. Some people are different. They do not study philosophy to dazzle the public, gain attention, or put up a front, but for practical application, and they devote themselves to "penetrating" the subject. What does "penetration" mean? It means what Comrade Mao Zedong said—"real apprehension" and "thorough acquaintance." Comrade Mao Zedong explained, "These people can correctly interpret the real problems brewing in history and revolution with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and method. They can furnish a scientific explanation and theoretical explication of what is going on in China's economy, politics, military, and culture." He also said, "If you can clarify one or two practical problems with Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, then you should be commended, for you have attained a degree of achievement; and the more, and the more general and profound, problems you can explain with it, the greater your achievement will be."⁶ From this we can understand "penetration" as linking theory with practical situations and analyzing and resolving practical problems with dialectic materialism.

To grasp philosophy, we must combine philosophical learning with the transformation of our world outlook. As pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, "The struggle by the proletarian class and the revolutionary people for transforming the world includes the following missions: Transforming the objective world as well as one's subjective world, that is, one's understanding ability and the relation of one's subjective world with the objective world."⁷ This is a very important Marxist truth. In recent years, the transformation of world outlook has

become almost taboo, as if whoever advocates such a task—that is, transforming one's own world outlook—is advocating the restoration of the "leftist" way. This is a misunderstanding or a distortion. Everyone is guided by a certain world outlook, whether he himself is aware of it. The problem is whether that world outlook is a correct or a wrong one. The purpose of learning Marxist philosophy is to build a scientific, dialectic-materialist world outlook and to eliminate the idealist-metaphysical one. This process is the very process of transforming our world outlook. So why are we afraid to speak of it, unless there is the attempt to weaken the self-consciousness of transforming one's world outlook? Dialectic materialism is characterized by class nature and practice. Understanding and grasping philosophy, and turning it into a powerful weapon for us are possible only when we link the study of dialectic materialism with a proletarian stand and with an effort to transform our world outlook.

To grasp philosophy, we must read seriously, and the key readings are the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong and the writings of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, which are rich with philosophical thoughts. This body of work represents the application and development of Marxist philosophy in China. It is Marxist philosophy sinicized. Practice proves that the effective way to study and grasp Marxist philosophy should start with the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong (and proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation). We should also tell everyone that theoretical reading will be rather boring at the start, and it is particularly true for comrades who don't have a theoretical background. But the law of learning tells us that if we persist long enough, boredom would give place to growing interest. As an ancient saying puts it: "The worst thing for reading is haste, for the interest of reading lies in slow absorption." Second, reading requires perseverance. Some comrades have taken on philosophy only to abandon it later, without benefiting much from the study, and losing confidence in philosophy or even doubting their ability for philosophy. Little do they know that ability for philosophy, as every other one, requires training. The key here lies not in whether one is philosophically inclined but in whether one is sufficiently persistent. On this score an example is provided by proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. Comrade Chen Yun said that in Yanan a philosophical study group was established with the encouragement of Comrade Mao Zedong. Study began in 1938 and continued for 5 years. If the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation were able to stick it out under harsh wartime conditions, what possible reason could we offer for failing to persist in serious reading?

To achieve real understanding, we must also combine reading with experience. From reading we learn about theories, and from experience about the practical situation; the combination of reading and experience represents the unity of theory and practice. Many of our leading cadres can offer successful experiences as well as

lessons on failure. They have paid their school fees. Some people gave up on the combination and failed to turn it into treasure. Some wanted to use it, but failed to unite practice with theory and often became narrow empiricists. We should turn defeats and successes in the process of exploration into a process of learning, application, and research, upgrading particulars into universals and endowing experiences with philosophical significance. This practice will not only help us comprehend theories, but will also raise leadership levels. We should strive to put this into practice.

Some comrades have studied philosophy but failed to achieve a thorough understanding, so they consider the study useless and to this day are determined not to take up philosophy again. This concept must be corrected. People always say that philosophy is a discipline that "opens up one's mind," "enables one to acquire wisdom" and "brings understanding." This is correct. There are three causes for the idea that philosophical study is useless: 1) the influence of erroneous words and actions denigrating Marxist philosophy; 2) one's own failure to understand philosophy; and 3) an incorrect learning approach. As long as one is willing to learn and be careful with one's learning method, one would very quickly feel the benefit of the learning. We advise comrades still holding a suspicious view to try and see.

Comrade Zhou Enlai once remarked that it is better to act than to sit discussing. It is time now for leading cadres to take up the study of philosophy. We may initiate a contest of philosophical study and see who will study best, understand most, and reap maximum benefit. Let us encourage each other in this task!

Footnotes

1. *Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Upholding the Four Cardinal Principles and Opposing Bourgeois Liberalization*, p 83.
2. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, pp 267-268.
3. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 2, p 499.
4. *Selected Works of Chen Yun 1956-1985*, p 179.
5. *Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 19, p 131.
6. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 3, pp 772-3.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, pp 272-3.

Adhere to the Road of Technological Progress
HK2911135689 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 89 pp 34-36

[Article by Zhu Rongji (2612 6954 1015)]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, acting on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important instruction to "vigorously use foreign capital and introduce foreign technologies to transform enterprises," the State Council has issued a series of

documents, adopted effective measures to promote technological advancement within enterprises, carried out large-scale technological transformation for currently existing enterprises, and scored great achievements. Shanghai has also done many tasks in this respect, enabling profound changes to take place in this old industrial base, which has transformed from operating mainly in the extensive style to operating in the intensive style.

First, the pace of transformation of industrial technology has quickened. In the last 10 years, total investment in industrial transformation and renewal in Shanghai hit 20.4 billion yuan, 300 percent more than the sum total of investment in a period of 29 years before 1979. The coverage of technological transformation for enterprises occupied two-thirds of the industrial enterprises in the municipality, and some key enterprises have already attained world advanced standards in turning out products. Shanghai's industry is gradually shifting to a new base of technology.

Second, advanced technologies have been introduced to transform a large number of old enterprises. A major characteristic of technological advancement in Shanghai in recent years has been the large-scale introduction and absorption of advanced technologies from foreign countries. Since 1980 and in particular since 1983, when the State Council delegated power to Shanghai for introducing foreign technologies to transform enterprises, the work in improving technologies for old enterprises in Shanghai has scored good results. Through the end of 1988, contracts for a total of 1,848 technologies imported or to be imported to China were signed with foreign countries, involving \$2.151 billion; the equipment and technologies imported basically meet world advanced standards of the 1970's and 1980's. Some enterprises quickly grasped advanced technologies imported from foreign countries, and their technological standards and product standards leaped over several middle stages of development; some 600 industrial enterprises have adopted international standards or advanced domestic standards for organizing production of 2,200 key products.

Third, the returns on technological improvement have become an important factor for stable development of Shanghai's industry. In the past 10 years, there have been clear returns from the investment in 1,520 key projects of technological transformation and importation in Shanghai. On the average, each yuan of investment in technological improvement brings 1.85 yuan increase in output value, as well as 0.46 yuan increase in revenue, and \$1 of investment in importation of technology brings 7 yuan increase in output value, as well as 1.8 yuan increase in revenue. In recent years, each year 60 percent of newly increased industrial output value was acquired through technological improvement. The returns acquired through technological improvement have not only made up for the original output value of a large number of products that had been eliminated as well as the revenue they generated, but have also accumulated staying power for Shanghai's industry.

Practice proves that the principle adopted by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on developing the national economy by relying on improvement of technologies employed by currently existing enterprises, and on treating technological improvement as a major means to expand reproduction, is completely correct. The currently existing enterprises, especially the big and medium enterprises owned by the whole people, are the main forces of economic development in our country, and the basis for our continuous advancement. Technological improvement to gradually transform these enterprises on the foundation of new technology is an important method to improve returns of national economy and to quicken the pace of modernization of our industry; it is also the hope for invigorating our country's economy. An old industrial city like Shanghai should certainly place technological improvement for the currently existing enterprises in a very important position. However, we must also recognize that there are serious difficulties in carrying out the work of transforming technology. First, the scale of transforming technologies for industrial enterprises still cannot satisfy the demands of maintaining simple reproduction and of expanding reproduction. Each year at least 4 billion yuan must be spent on technological transformation for Shanghai's industrial enterprises owned by the whole people to enable them to maintain simple reproduction. Although the absolute amount of input greatly increased in the past 10 years, on the average only 2 billion yuan were available each year, the pace of compensation could not follow the pace of breakdowns. In the whole municipality, a third of the key industrial enterprises have not undergone technological transformation, and the proportion of big and small enterprises that have undergone overall technological transformation is very low. Second, enterprises are facing bigger difficulties nowadays. The prices of energy and raw materials are continually increasing, leading to big increases in production costs, however, the prices of products cannot be adjusted correspondingly, leading to decreased profits, and the enterprises have great difficulty in gathering funds for technological transformation. Under the current conditions of rectification and improvement, there is a shortage of funds, and a reduced scale of capital construction, as well as a cut in the scale of technological transformation.

What should we do when facing these difficulties? We cannot rely on asking for help from above, and the only correct method is to dig into internal potential. On the one hand, we must be really determined to reduce nonproductive construction and general construction projects, and to ensure the key projects for technological transformation. On the other hand, we must strictly control the increase of consumption funds and lead a thrifty life in order to squeeze money for use in technological transformation and resolutely stay on the road of technological progress. If we do not rely on technological progress, the quality and standard of products made in Shanghai cannot be upgraded nor can they further enter the international market to increase foreign exchange

earned through exports; enterprises cannot digest high-priced raw materials, and have no foreign exchange to buy imported raw materials; and industry cannot develop more rapidly. Therefore, technological progress is a critical matter for the fate of industrial enterprises in Shanghai, and is the basic measure for invigorating big and medium-sized enterprises owned by the whole people. The enterprises should grasp technological progress as a matter of top priority, try their best to arouse the eagerness of the great masses of workers to build socialism, develop the spirit of plain living and hard work, and of building the country through thrift and diligence, reduce expenditures and explore potential, gather funds and resources for technological transformation, increase vigor for enterprises, and maintain staying power for development of enterprises.

Under the present grim situation, technological transformation for enterprises in Shanghai must relate to Shanghai's strategy for economic development and plan for adjusting industrial structure, select items and emphasize key points, step up effort in improving returns, and pursue development characterized by export-oriented, intensive, group, and knowledge patterns. In concrete terms:

First, by an export-oriented pattern we mean that technological transformation must serve the key point of expanding foreign exchange through exports. At present, there are shortages of capital, energy, and raw materials, and the basic way for Shanghai's industry to exist and develop is the expansion of exports and exploration of international markets. For example, last year the state was able to hand down only two-thirds of the planned supply of cotton needed by Shanghai's textile industry, and this year only half the planned quantity was supplied; the supply of cotton in the country is diminishing, and prices have become more expensive. If foreign exchange cannot be earned through exports of textile products, then there is no way to import cotton and the textile industry will face the danger of stopping production. This is a common problem in Shanghai's economic development, which has the processing industry as its main sector. Therefore, work in technological transformation must be closely linked to the key point of expanding foreign exchange through exports, and it is precisely in this aspect that great development can be sought. For example, the toothpastes produced in Shanghai used to be profit-earning products, now, the prices of raw materials have increased many fold, and production costs have increased by 30 percent; factories began to lose money instead of earning profits, and production cannot be maintained. I have studied the situation with the comrades from the toothpaste factories, and concluded that the remedy would be improvement of their products, expansion of exports, and increased selling prices. The quality of toothpastes now being exported by Shanghai is not bad, but each toothpaste sells for only 20 cents; abroad, each toothpaste sells at a retail price of \$1.50. The main problem is that the packaging of our toothpastes does not meet the demand

of the international market. First, the seal of the cartons containing toothpaste is not tight and the toothpaste can easily slip out. Second, toothpaste in plastic tubes is popular in foreign countries; an aluminium tube is not liked. If we can make some improvement in these aspects, the price of toothpaste produced in Shanghai can be increased by 100 percent, the quantity of exports can be expanded, and the problem of enterprises losing money can be solved. Therefore, technological transformation for enterprises must also target the international market, and squeeze a place for their product brands; exporting products is precisely the best motive force to enhance technological progress for enterprises.

Second, by an intensive pattern we mean that we must speed up the development of technology-intensive and knowledge-intensive industry through technological transformation. Shanghai is short of energy and raw materials and is restrained by labor resources; there is not much prospect for developing labor-intensive products, and there is no future if we follow the extensive pattern characterized by high input and low output. Therefore, what we can do is: On the basis of trying our best to save energy and raw materials and through strengthening management, to foster technological progress, increase prices of products, and develop technology-intensive and knowledge-intensive products. In the coming several years, Shanghai will speed up digestion, absorption, and dissemination of imported technologies. On the one hand, Shanghai will get rid of some energy-consuming and materials-consuming backward products and backward enterprises with poor economic returns; speed up renewal of crafts, technologies, and equipment, and use advanced technologies to transform some traditional businesses. On the other hand, Shanghai will fully develop its scientific and technological strong points, organize unified efforts to overcome difficulties, gather strong points, concentrate investment in some projects, seek breakthroughs in some key points, speed up development of new technologies and integration of imported technologies into China's industry, and establish as soon as possible several big enterprises based on the foundation of advanced technology. Take Sangtana [2718 1044 4780] limousine as an example, the key task in the past few years was to set up a production system of spare parts, and to increase the Chinese-made proportion; in 1988, the Chinese-made proportion hit 30 percent, and we will struggle for 50 percent this year and 100 percent in 1990. We will gradually build a modernized automobile industry capable of turning out 150,000 improved Sangtana limousines each year. The 14 key projects of integration of production and scientific research being carried out in Shanghai must strive for a breakthrough in 3 years, so as to gradually form a number of new and major industries. Shanghai's weakness is shortage of resources, but this weakness can be converted into the motive force for developing Shanghai's strong points, to foster technological progress for enterprises, promote a rational adjustment of Shanghai's industrial structure, and speed up development of Shanghai's industry into the intensive pattern.

Third, by group pattern we mean that technological transformation must pay attention to fully developing the strong points of various businesses. Shanghai has a strong point in its economy; that is, a complete set of corresponding businesses. Technological transformation must closely unite with effort in developing the strong points of Shanghai's businesses, in order to be able to obtain returns as fast and as early as possible. The density of Shanghai's industries is the highest in the country, and the proportion of big and medium-sized enterprises is very high, but most of these enterprises do not have a reasonable scale of operation according to contemporary standards. There are more than 500 textile factories operating businesses separately, each seeking its own outlet; 4 distinct refrigerator factories producing fewer than 1 million refrigerators; the Phoenix and Everlasting bicycles with their respective weaknesses and strong points; and Jinxing and Feiyue television sets competing against each other. Shanghai's products can be famous in the country, but are not well-known in the international market. Far-sighted entrepreneurs should start considering the overall situation, abandon narrow-mindedness, organize groups, integrate strong points, consolidate forces, concentrate human resources and funds to run marketing research, advertisements, publicity campaigns, sales networks, and maintenance services. Only by doing so can we establish an international reputation for our products, and lay the foundation for Shanghai's export-oriented economy. Therefore, we must speed up structural and organizational adjustments for our enterprises, organize a number of economic groups facing the international market, strengthen business plans and coordinating functions for these groups, create good conditions for stressing key points of technological transformation, for rational overall arrangement, and for improving returns of investment. At the same time, the work in technological progress for businesses and groups must practice three integrations: First, it must be integrated with the development of rationally scaled operations, and, on the basis of comprehensive analysis of market capacity, production quantity, and life cycle of products, we select the best items for technological transformation according to scales and economic returns. Second, it must be integrated with the readjustment of product structure to foster changes in products and development of new products. Third, it must be integrated with the transformation of the structure of businesses as a complete set, and, at the same time that we grasp technological transformation for factories turning out "dragon head" products, the work must be integrated with proper arrangement for technological transformation for enterprises turning out products for forming a complete set, to fully develop the economic returns of the businesses after they have gone through technological transformation.

Fourth, by knowledge-type development we mean that during technological transformation, particular importance must be attached to improving the quality of workers. The vitality of our enterprises depends on the quality of workers and technical personnel. Only if the

workers have high standards of political consciousness, relatively high levels of scientific and cultural attainment, and skillful working technique, can they really carry out modernized and efficient production. Technological progress does not only mean renewal of equipment, but, more important, it means overall and simultaneous improvement of the quality of workers and technical personnel—and this is the most basic technological progress. When enterprise staff lack the necessary quality, technology cannot be improved and management cannot be strengthened. We should establish and perfect the vocational training system within enterprises in Shanghai according to the demands of technological progress. Training, which should include factory managers, managers, administrative personnel, and staff, must borrow successful experiences from developed countries and integrate it with our reality, to form a complete system of factory training step by step, in order to enable each factory to have its own vocational training school. The most advanced equipment must be put in these schools. The trained workers and technical personnel will serve not only their own factories, but also provide laborers of the best quality to the society. With this kind of vocational training system, the quality of Shanghai's working class can be improved continually to better perform its function as main force in production and construction. We must also launch a large-scale campaign for technological transformation and rational proposals among the great masses of workers, encourage any small-scale technological transformation and revolution, carry out activities in transforming old equipment with microcomputers, promote mechanical and electrical unity, foster effective measures for saving energy and raw materials, and bring Shanghai's technological progress to a new level.

Strive To Open Up a New, Healthy, and Prosperous Situation in the Socialist Film Industry—Answering QIUSHI Reporter's Questions

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in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 89 pp 37-40

[Article by Teng Jinxian (3326 6651 6343), chief, Film Bureau, Ministry of Radio, Film, and Television]

[Text] Question: Recently the film administrative authority has put up the slogan of "giving prominence to the main theme and upholding variety of style" for film creation. May I ask under what situation this slogan was brought up?

Answer: The slogan was explicitly brought up at a meeting with the studio managers of feature production studios. The main purpose of the slogan was to create healthy and prosperous conditions for socialist Chinese films. Another reason concerns the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. At the meeting delegates agreed that we could not underestimate the influence of bourgeois liberalization in film creation. The slogan, of course, carries political content, in line with the long-term task

of opposing bourgeois liberalization. But basically it was a slogan meant for creation.

Question: What has been the practical result of the slogan after more than 2 years of implementation?

Answer: There have been some achievements as well as problems. But the results are there. They can be viewed from two angles, film creation and the condition of creation, and the receptiveness of the creative staff.

For the former, you may have noticed that an outstanding feature of film creation over the last 2 years has been a continual opening up of subjects, content, and style. "Entertainment movies" or those having a strong element of entertainment have come to the fore. On the other hand, important films reflecting the spirit of the times and important historical revolutionary events, the so-called "major theme movies," have also gained new development: their quantity has been stable, and their quality improved. Examples in this category include the recently released *Bose Uprising*, *Towering Kunlun*, *The Ceremony of the Founding of the Republic*, *The Republic Will Not Forget*, *General Peng*, *Liberation*, and the coming *Great Battle*, *The Business Sectors*, *Bai Qiuwen* and so on. Basically, we have been satisfied with the creations. Of course, there are still many problems. For instance, there have been very few productions reflecting the reality of life and the powerful spirit of the times, and with the present economic difficulties, it is not exactly an easy task to produce, and to keep the trend to produce, high-cost centerpiece films. The outpouring of entertainment movies have been prompted by rather dangerous motives, some related to economics, some to art and creative thinking. The result is that there are some rather vulgar and inferior productions, whose influences on society are often very bad.

As for the latter, most film workers know and understand the slogan. Over the years a very good tradition has been created in the film sector, namely a general concern for the overall image of the Chinese film industry, and the influence of its productions on the audience. In the last 40 years, under party training and education and the care of the people, the film force has for generations had a fairly extensive sense of social responsibility. For instance, the heads of Changchun, Guangxi, and August 1st film studios, despite serious economic predicaments, made explicit promises to us that they would ensure production of "major themes," although this may mean they would "sell the tools of their trade." And they really did what they had promised. At the same time there are a small number of comrades who are indifferent to the creation of "major theme" productions, making caustic, satirical remarks and viewing this as a revival of ultra-leftist thought. We cannot underestimate this tendency. We will not allow this situation in our force to continue.

Overall, the putting up of the slogan "giving prominence to the main theme and upholding variety of style" answers to objective needs. It does not come out of the

blue. Requirements and efforts in this regard have been in the film circle all this time, only, of course, sometimes they were upheld more strictly and sometimes there were problems.

Question: Do you mean that this slogan has always been a guideline for film creation?

Question: That is correct. Since the party's 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and the 4th Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists, both main theme and style variety have received equal attention. Several years earlier, our guiding slogan for creation was to give prominence to "key point" productions and to uphold variety. At that time I was a film director and studio head. The slogan left a deep impression on me. The "key point" productions at that time referred to those taking as subjects important historical revolutionary events and reflecting the spirit of the times. From grasping "key points" to the suggestion of "main theme" productions, there has been one continuous line. This is a deepening of understanding, and shows progress in the creation and production management system and its style. Several years earlier, we produced annually 30 to 50 features at the most, and there were only seven to eight film studios. Creation and production management was of an administrative style, with one studio responsible for one or two "key point" productions. There were only 10 or so productions in the whole country. The management of "key point" productions adopted an administratively vertical system: Beginning from the ministry and bureaus down to studios and shooting units. The system was reasonable and it worked. Then productions increased year by year, to 150 by the early 1980's. Along with structural reform, production power and some other powers were decentralized, and film genres, subjects, content, and styles continually diversified. Creation and production management switched from the previously microscopic style using administrative directives, to a macroregulatory style using policy guidance. But whichever style or slogan was employed, the purpose remained the same: to improve and perfect the conditions for socialist film creation. In the final analysis, these are the ways a government authority must abide by in implementing the "direction of serving the people and socialism" and "the double hundred" policy.

Question: We have noticed that different opinions have been raised at several film meetings since the appearance of the slogan. What is your comment?

Answer: The "main theme" concept, when it was first brought up, applied mainly to productions most effective in revealing the spirit of the times, that is, generally speaking, the "key point" productions. We even made and issued a mandatory plan to film studios to shoot "main theme" productions. This is very important in preserving a sense of social responsibility by Chinese films. Following this, for a period we stressed that we must take a liberal understanding of "main theme" in terms of subject matter and content, taking the consideration that productions of this kind should carry a

higher viewing value. This was to bring up and understand the issue in terms of subject matter and the film itself. At a meeting for creation convened at the beginning of this year, we raised the level of understanding to that of creative spirit and the thinking that guides creation, requesting more and even all creations to be guided by a positive, healthy sense and by a sense of striving forward and attentiveness to the social benefits brought by productions.

Question: With this, would there be a tendency to subsume everything under the "main theme" category, that is, requiring every production to have a main theme, and thus all become "main theme" productions?

Answer: Your worry is reasonable. I raised the point myself at the meeting. Let me quote from my speech at the meeting: "In preventing a narrow understanding of 'main theme,' which will confine it to the area of creative subject matters, we should guard against the kind of understanding that takes every production as belonging to the 'main theme' category and that eliminates in effect the difference between the primary and the secondary level, thus weakening or abolishing the main theme creation and the idea of reflecting real life and the spirit of the times. With such understanding, we shall say we still consider those films reflecting real life as more capable of becoming the forte in the main theme; for example, those excellent films reflecting the real life of reform, opening up, the four modernizations, and historical revolutionary events, and so on." This is to say, we shall understand the slogan at two levels: that of creative spirit and the guiding thought for creation, and that of subject matter and content. Moreover, "main theme" serves only as an analogy. There will be different contents in different eras. The main theme we are advocating refers mainly to productions in line with the times, echoing the minds of the people, imbued with the spirit of our age and reflecting revolutionary history—in a word, productions capable of teaching and enlightening people about history and encouraging revolutionary tradition.

Question: Can you talk about the relationships of main theme to creative variety and other relevant issues, such as creative freedom?

Answer: The problem is, in fact, a plain and obvious one. But with the complicated background and climate we are in, a plain and obvious problem will prove difficult when implemented. There will be vacillation, with one tendency dominating another. The main theme in social life needs to be set off and promoted by the "main theme" in cultural and artistic creation—this is an unshirkable social responsibility on our part. On the other hand, to satisfy the masses' growing demand for various kinds of cultural consumption, including the need for entertainment, is also our unshirkable social responsibility. But it is possible for the two responsibilities to be united. Films are a spiritual product as well as a cultural commodity, and their social and economic benefits are realized through the cultural market. In a sense, a movie without

economic benefits implies that it does not have an audience, which means that it will not have social benefits. Here a chain can also be established. Even "main theme" movies should have a variety of subject matters, contents, styles, and forms, and a unity of thought, art, and viewing value. In the final analysis, there is an inseparable, dialectic, and unified relationship between main theme and variety. It cannot be separated or even set in opposition.

Now for the relationships between main theme and creative temperament and creative freedom. As long as we subscribe to the socialist direction of films, we will find a common language. Creative freedom is a noble term, and people who really respect creative freedom will not debase it into the kind of trivial and insignificant freedom of venting egoism and exhibitionism. Still less is there any freedom for those films that pander to audiences and vulgar tastes and follow fashions. Regrettably, there is such a phenomenon in our creation. A small number of comrades, having imbibed a small dose of Western culture, turn out nondescript works, which affect profundity and are full of lowly, vulgar, sensual appeals. Angered at criticism, bluffing or deliberately reticent, these comrades view themselves as "freedom defenders." These attitudes are very bad. We encourage our creative staff to launch into life to obtain creative freedom. Without the freedom of an understanding of life and, thus, an urge to express life, our creation will be doomed. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the "direction of serving the people and socialism" and the "double hundred" policy have been implemented in a concrete fashion. Under the party's leadership and care by the people, we have established a good creative condition for the free expression of artistic ideals. Nobody has the power to destroy this good condition. We should fight to protect it from the influence and erosion of bourgeois liberalization and disturbances from other quarters.

Question: Earlier there was an opinion questioning "why the main theme cannot strike a chord." I wonder what your comment would be on this opinion.

Answer: This opinion is thought-provoking. There is no denying that some of our productions, which, judging from their subject matter and content, belong to the main theme category, have failed to make an impression, their economic benefits were low and social benefits not given full play. In the past we looked for the causes in the process of creation, and they did lie in the creation itself. For instance, some main theme productions laid too much emphasis on pedagogic functions and thus suffered from being plotless, excessively explicit, rough, and shallow. This is because these productions did not pay attention to films' viewing value and entertainment quality, and violated some of the basic laws of film creation. Further instances can be named, such as lack of understanding of the need to vary subject matter, content, style, and form, with the result that the productions were monotonous and dull. We should have a wider vision in the production of main theme movies. Also, we

have advocated producing movies capable of echoing people's minds and reflecting the times. The question arises, then, of knowing the people's minds and the greatest concerns of audiences. What subject matter can strike a chord in an audience and arouse its interests? Because there has not been sufficient investigation and attention, it is not surprising that some films were not well received. However, some of our main theme productions, rich in concepts and artistic value, were also rejected by the audience. Now this is really puzzling. Creative staff blame this on distribution comrades for not having launched extensive publicity, and the latter complained about the creative staff when they were confronted with the audience's cold reception. In the end, the motivation of comrades in both departments was hurt.

After a period of learning and reflection, we realize that some of our ideas in the past were somewhat naive. The setback, in various degrees, to main theme movies, of course, was related to the internal creation process. But more than internal causes have been involved—there has been an external cause as well. There are reasons to believe that sometimes this external cause has played a rather considerable role in the setback. And this external cause has been the major cultural environment surrounding us.

We have pondered the problem of "rebellious psychology" in the audience and have identified it generally as a reaction against the "leftist" literary and artistic policies of the 10 years of turmoil and resistance against the lingering "leftist" doctrinaire influence. But things are far more complicated. The enormous number of problems uncovered by the recent "pornography sweep" is shocking! With so much cultural garbage infesting the cultural market, taking over our positions and seizing our audience, and spreading harmful, negative influences among the masses, particularly the youth, people's aesthetic demand and standards have fallen considerably. How can we expect the main theme to have a resonant note in this atmosphere?

Film production is a complicated and highly organized, integrated artistic activity. Its management and approval systems are relatively strict, and it is difficult for pornographic and reactionary content to take root in film production. But we must not relax vigilance. We have our own problems. Surrounded by low-class, vulgar, violent, and pornographic cultural matter, faced with scores of economic crises within the film industry, and various unhealthy tendencies, our force has experienced unrest, uneasiness, and swaying. To win an audience, a small number of movie producers have lowered their cultural standards and stuffed their movies with low-class, vulgar material, and this practice created a trend last year. Individual film studio leaders publicly support the production of low-class movies, and we cannot help judging this as negligence of duty. We have conducted serious criticism and introspection, and made appeals and taken measures to "purify" the screen and "strictly guard the gate." In our opinion, a relation should be

created between creation and audience that is equal, mutually restraining, and improving, and an equal opportunity of choice for both audience and creators. The practice of "giving what the audience wants" is, in fact, an ignoble act that betrays our artistic conscience and forsakes our social responsibility. It is a dangerous path on which both art and audience, and communication and reception will degenerate.

The Chinese people are a great people who pride themselves on their national cohesiveness. We are living in a time of arduous development. Art should play a role in restoring and encouraging national spirit and whipping up the fighting spirit of the people. The brilliant films about the spirit of the times and revolutionary tradition should be part of the people's necessary spiritual food. But the trend confronting us is the cold reception of main theme films. The time has come for us to reverse this trend. We, the film workers, fully support the drive to sweep away pornography and cultural garbage, and we will take this opportunity to sweep the dirt off ourselves.

Question: Finally I would like you to talk about some of your future plans.

Answer: To create further good conditions for creation, and a healthy and prosperous environment for the creation of socialist films, we must unyieldingly uphold the "double hundred" policy and the "direction of serving the people and socialism," and persist in taking the anti-bourgeois liberalization as a long-term task so that it can be maintained without distortion.

Comrade Jiang Zemin put forward at the 4th Plenary Session the idea that the education in the national situation must be strengthened. Now this education in the national situation is rich with profound meaning. It should become one of the missions for film workers. A nation has its national situation, and we have our "film situation." Whether it is a major or minor climate, we must make continual efforts to understand it, so that future missions and direction can be continually clarified.

Based on the current situation in the Chinese film industry, in the next 2 or 3 years we will continue to practice the production policy of "steady, high-quality production," concentrating on film's artistic and viewing value, strengthening regard for quality, and offering to the people delicate spiritual food. As is well known, the film industry is faced with serious economic difficulties and crises. To ensure the fulfillment of the creation of main theme productions and their social benefits, the present economic problems must be resolved. Film-making is an enterprise, and like every enterprise it has typical enterprise responsibilities and obligations. On the other hand, our products are spiritual products, and we cannot produce whatever brings in a profit. This is a well-known fact. However, owing to various complicated reasons, economic difficulties in film industry have not been resolved. In our thinking, this problem should be resolved gradually through reform. Setting up a film development fund would be a good method. Recently

we set up a foundation fund for the production of films of important historical revolutionary events. Without this fund, large productions such as *Red Uprising* and *Grand Celebration of the Founding of the Republic* would not have seen the audience today. If a portion of film tax submitted to the state can be returned to the film industry and used in expanding the film development fund so that we can proceed with film creation and production with less worry, it will no doubt benefit Chinese film in better realizing its social responsibility, and Chinese film creation in developing more healthily. We will continue to make appeals and work for this goal.

An Important Issue in Contracted Management of Enterprises

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[Article by Lin Ling (2651 0407), Sichuan Provincial Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] The enterprise contracted management responsibility system has been popularized in the majority of enterprises in our country, and great achievements have been scored in this regard. According to a survey made by the relevant departments, about 20 percent of the contracts executed by our state-owned medium-sized and large enterprises will expire this year, and in 1990 the contract periods of the majority of our enterprises will also expire. I believe that before a more appropriate method is devised for handling relations between the state and enterprises, the continued implementation of the contracted management responsibility system in the majority of our enterprises may, after all, be accepted as a feasible option. However, the contracted management responsibility system must be improved and developed. Here, I would like only to express my views on a question connected with the improvement of the system, namely, the status and role of enterprise workers and staff members in the contract system.

The enterprise contracted management responsibility system is based on the theory that ownership power and operational power of the state-owned enterprises can be separated. The separation between ownership power and operational power will inevitably give rise to the question of who is the owner and who is the operator. In the meantime, implementation of the contracted management responsibility system will inevitably demand that we determine who is the contracting party and who is the contracted party. According to our general rule, the state is the owner, whereas our enterprises are operators. The state is the contracting party, whereas our enterprises are contracted parties. It is, of course, not wrong to say so. However, the state and enterprises are, after all, abstract concepts. The state is composed of the People's Congresses at all levels, governments at all levels, numerous government departments, courts, procuratorates, Army, police, and so on. Who represents the state? Who contracts the projects to enterprises? To enterprises, all these questions must be specified. Otherwise, the "absence"

[que wei 4972 0143] of the owner, or the multiple owners might occur. An enterprise is composed of laborers, means of production, management system headed by the factory manager, and so on. It is important for the state to determine who is the operator, and who is the contracted party. Is the contracted party the collective laborers, including the factory manager, or the factory manager as an individual? Is it an operating group headed by the factory manager? The state must clarify these questions. If the operating body is wrongly determined, adverse effects will be brought about.

Regarding the first question of who represents the owner, it is comparatively easy to answer it under the existing system. Under the existing system, each and every enterprise must have a government department which acts as its "mother-in-law." This is what we generally call a responsible department that governs the enterprise. Therefore, this department is the only natural owner—the representative of the state. However, due to the fact that the enterprise contracted management responsibility system involves mainly the distribution of interests between the state and enterprises, the financial department that is on the same grade as the responsible department governing the enterprise has also become the owner—the representative of the state. It is precisely because of this fact that under the present enterprise contracted management responsibility system most of the contracting parties are composed of responsible departments that govern the enterprises and financial departments on the same grade. Contracts are also signed by them. Under present conditions, this method can be regarded as a feasible pattern. However, in some places, apart from responsible departments and financial departments on the same grade, the planning commissions, economic commissions, and other administrative departments responsible for tax, labor, commodity prices, industry and commerce, and so on have also become owners—the representatives of the state. As contracting parties, they sign contracts with enterprises. This simply ruins the effect by adding something superfluous. Fundamentally, this pattern is still of a transitional nature. We know that, in accordance with traditional theories and economic systems, when a socialist country governs its state-owned enterprises, it has in hand the "three kinds of power," which are inseparable. These three kinds of power are ownership power of means of production, operational and management power of enterprises, and macroeconomic management power as a function of state power. However, when a socialist country administers an enterprise that is not owned by the state, it has only one power, namely macroeconomic management power as a function of state power. For this reason, state-owned enterprises cannot but become appendages of state administrative organs, losing their independence and initiative. Now it is perfectly right for us to separate ownership power from operational power. However, our ownership power is still linked with our macroeconomic management power as a function of state power. If these two kinds of power are not separated, the responsible departments that

govern enterprises might possibly rely on functions of state power and use coercive administrative means to exercise ownership power and to interfere in the regular production and operational activities of the enterprises. This will lead to the existence of separation in name only between ownership power and operational power. Therefore, in the course of improving and developing the enterprise contracted management responsibility system, we must actively promote systematic reform in this regard. In other words, we should separate the administrative power of the state-owned assets from government functions, and establish administrative bureaus responsible for managing state-owned assets, which are independent organs and exercise the functions of managing and using state-owned assets. Enterprises must pay their tax to the tax departments of the government. Fees for possession and use of the state-owned assets and profits must be submitted to the administrative bureaus responsible for managing state-owned assets. Administrative bureaus responsible for managing state-owned assets and their subsidiary organs, as representatives of the state and contracting parties, can sign contracts with enterprises. The responsible departments governing enterprises and other government departments must become unitary macroeconomic management organs that exercise the functions of state power that override all forms of ownership.

Due to the fact that people have not reached identical opinions on the question of who is the operator, at present at least three different views exist on this question. First, the factory manager is the operator. Second, the administrative group headed by the factory manager and including deputy factory managers is the operator. Third, the collective laborers in an enterprise (including the factory manager) are the operator, and the factory manager is the representative of the operator. Owing to the existence of these three views, there are three kinds of patterns regarding the contracts signed between the state and enterprises. First, contracts signed between the factory manager as an individual and the state. Second, contracts signed between the administrative group headed by the factory manager and the state. Third, contracts signed between the collective laborers in an enterprise represented by factory manager and the state. There are several methods for creating factory managers. Most of them are appointed by the state. Some are recruited. Some are elected by the representative assembly of workers and staff members in enterprises, and appointed by the state after the election. Which views and methods are correct? Are they all correct? I believe that this is a principled question concerning implementation of the contract system, which should be conscientiously discussed and solved.

Here, what we should, first of all, define is the status of laborers in enterprises under the socialist state ownership system. I believe that socialist and capitalist enterprises have points in common, but they are also essentially different. Apart from the differences in the ownership and distribution systems, one of the essential

differences lies in the different status of the laborers in enterprises. In capitalist enterprises based on private ownership, means of production as capital is the subject (zhu ti 0031 7555), whereas laborers are the object (ke ti 1336 7555). Relations between them are characterized by the following: Capital governs labor, and capitalists and their agents are the masters of the enterprises. Laborers are in a state of being hired and exploited. In socialist enterprises based on public ownership, laborers are the subject, whereas means of production are the object. Their relations are characterized by the following: Laborers directly (in enterprises under the collective system) or indirectly (in state-owned enterprises) govern means of production, and are the masters of their enterprises. Such differences are a fundamental point demonstrating the superiority of socialism over capitalism. One of our missions for carrying out enterprise reform is to truly establish the status of laborers who are the masters of their enterprises, and to ensure that laborers can govern means of production. Just as the "Decision on Economic Structural Reform" adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "We should resolutely ensure that our workers and staff members are real masters of their enterprises and can work as such at their jobs. This will arouse their deep interest in the operation and effectiveness of their enterprises, so that their performance is closely linked with their social prestige and material benefits."

All these inferences have very accurately shown that in our socialist enterprises the collective laborers are naturally the subject. Therefore, in the course of implementing the enterprise contracted management responsibility system, when the state contracts certain projects to enterprises, this means that the collective laborers in enterprises, who are the master of their enterprises, must fulfill their obligations and duties to the owner—the state (namely, the so-called all-personnel contract system). In the meantime, they can enjoy their legitimate rights and interests. Here, the collective laborers are the true operators. The so-called independent operation of enterprises and the system of assuming sole responsibility for their own profits or losses refer to the collective laborers in enterprises. But a problem has again occurred here. In other words, important policy decisions for production and operations of enterprises must be collectively made by the laborers. If we want them to fulfill their obligations and duties without letting them make important policy decisions, this means their rights do not conform to their duties. This actually means weakening and negating the main role and status of the collective of laborers in enterprises.

People might ask: Does this not mean negating the role of factory managers, so that nobody assumes responsibility in enterprises? My answer is that the collective laborers in enterprises carry out business operations and make important policy decisions. This does not mean that everyone in an enterprise with 1,000 or 10,000 workers must participate directly in operations and

decisionmaking. What I like to stress is that through its elected representative organ—the representative assembly of workers and staff members, the collective laborers exercise their policy decisionmaking power. The representatives of the assembly, namely the representatives of enterprise operators, exercise operational power. This has actually demonstrated democratic centralism inside enterprises. Instead of weakening the role of factory managers, this system will enable us to strengthen their role and to overcome the situation of nobody assuming responsibility in enterprises.

I have mentioned above that a factory manager should be the operator of an enterprise—the representative of the collective laborers. I would like to further explain this issue here. We know that collective laborers in enterprises are composed of physical laborers and mental workers. Specifically, they are composed of workers, engineering and technical personnel, management personnel, and factory managers. In a socialist enterprise, the factory manager is neither a boss of a capitalist enterprise nor an agent of capitalists. Like other workers, he is a member of the collective laborers. He is also the master of his enterprise. We must be clear about this. However, due to the following reasons, he assumes a special status in his enterprise. His relations with other laborers bear the following three characteristics: First, together with other laborers, a factory manager possesses and uses state-owned means of production. They work together in accordance with division of labor and promote their equal and comradely relations as they are the masters of their own enterprise. Second, a factory manager is elected by other laborers and is appointed by the state. As operator of his enterprise, representative of the collective laborers, and legal entity, he exercises operational power on behalf of the collective laborers. He must be responsible for the owner—the state. Third, due to the fact that a concentrated and unified command is needed for modernized and socialized mass production, relations between a factory manager and other laborers are relations between a person who exercises leadership and persons who are led. The unity of these three kinds of relations has demonstrated the major characteristics of the leadership system of the socialist enterprises, namely, the unity between the factory director responsibility system, and the workers' position as masters of their enterprise. One viewpoint holds that factory managers and other laborers belong to two different strata and two different groups of interests. Factory managers belong to the "stratum of entrepreneurs," or the "stratum of operators." People who hold such a viewpoint maintain that the interests of such a stratum "must be separated from the interests of workers and staff members in general, so that an independent group of interests can be formed."¹ "Only when workers obey the command of their factory manager can the situation in the factory be changed." "Changing the views of workers on the operator (factory manager) is an issue of primary importance."² Such a viewpoint has theoretically negated the characteristics of the socialist enterprises that factory managers and other laborers are

the masters of their own enterprises. Separating factory managers from the collective laborers so that they become the subject of enterprises and members of an independent group of interests that conflicts with other laborers has obviously deviated from the fundamental principle of the socialist system. If the enterprise contracted management responsibility system is established on the basis of such a viewpoint, the fact that the factory manager, or operating group headed by the factory manager assumes sole responsibility for profits and losses can exist in name only. It does not exist in reality. Under such a system, if the enterprise is run successfully, it is true that other laborers benefit. However, the factory manager or the operating group headed by him can get more. If the enterprise suffers losses, the losses of the factory manager or operating group headed by him are only 10 percent or so of their salaries of several thousand yuan. However, other laborers, who are not involved in policymaking and operation, but only provide service for the factory manager or operating group headed by him, suffer greater losses. The losses of the state are even greater. It is difficult for other laborers in the enterprise to accept such a fact. It is, therefore, difficult to arouse enthusiasm, wisdom, and creativity—the sources of the vitality and vigor of enterprises.

Theories and practice mentioned above have told us that the existing contracted management responsibility system must be improved and developed in accordance with the idea that the collective laborers in an enterprise, including their factory manager, are the true operators, and that the role of the factory manager must be integrated with the enthusiasm of other laborers. The benefits of the business operation must be shared in common with the collective laborers and factory manager, and the risk of suffering losses must also be taken by them together. In this way, an enterprise will become a community whose political, economic and social interests are closely linked.

Does this mean that we negate the importance of vigorously bringing up socialist entrepreneurs, and giving play to their role? The answer is no. Entrepreneurs are a product of the commodity economy when it has developed to a certain stage. During the early period of capitalist development, enterprises were run directly by their owners and the family members of the owners. The owners were the operators. Since the occurrence of the joint-stock companies, the capitalist commodity economy has developed by leaps and bounds. In the meantime, owners can no longer directly operate their enterprises. Therefore, ownership power is separated from operating power. Entrepreneurs specially engaged in operating enterprises and employed by the capitalists emerge. Entrepreneurs are qualified personnel who possess capability in management and administration and leadership skills. With the development and modernization of science and technology, they play an increasingly greater role in rational use of capital, in directly turning science and technology into productive forces, and in promoting modern management. In the meantime, the

role of other people who are engaged in management, and in operating complicated modern machines and facilities has also become increasingly important. Therefore, in some developed capitalist countries, entrepreneurs attach importance to workers' participation in the management of enterprises and their role in policymaking. Here, although the status of workers of being employed has remained unchanged, capital has increased because of this. We are carrying out socialist modernization and developing our planned commodity economy. We also need many socialist entrepreneurs. But, unlike capitalist entrepreneurs, our entrepreneurs are members of the collective laborers. Like other laborers, they are the masters of their enterprises. In the meantime, they are the outstanding members of the collective laborers. To me, a socialist entrepreneur must possess the following qualities: First, he must have the greatest ideological concept of socialism. Second, he must be perfectly familiar with the technology and management skills of his trade. Third, he must be capable in making policy decisions, in organizing things, and in giving commands. Fourth, he must be good at carrying out production and operational activities in accordance with the law governing socialist planned commodity economy. Fifth, he is most capable of discharging, on behalf of laborers in their enterprises, the duties and tasks assigned by the owner—the state. Sixth, he is most capable of representing the will and interests of all laborers. Seventh, he is most capable of relying on and giving play to the enthusiasm, wisdom, and creativity of all laborers. What should be particularly stressed here is that socialist entrepreneurs must take root among the collective laborers. They are most capable of relying on the collective laborers, and of representing their fundamental and specific interests. They must never separate themselves from the collective laborers, or sit on their backs. They must never make arbitrary decisions and take peremptory actions, or follow commandist style of work, or seek private gains. All these have demonstrated fundamental differences between the socialist and capitalist entrepreneurs.

Footnotes

1. JINGJI YANJIU No 3, 1987 p 13.
2. "Advocating Socialist Competition," JINGJI CANKAO 4 June 1987.

Launch Mass Cultural Activities, Make Efforts To Cultivate Enterprise Spirit

HK251106/489 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 89 pp 45-46

[Article by Wang Yihui (3769 2011 1920), Shengli Oil-field Administrative Bureau trade union]

[Text] Launching varied and interesting mass cultural activities is an effective means to cultivate socialist enterprise spirit.

Sound mass cultural activities can enliven the spare-time cultural life of workers at different levels so that their inner world will be enriched and raised to a higher level. In the process of cultivating and improving enterprise spirit, mass cultural activities can play a catalytic role. Mass cultural activities combine ideological content, amusement, and artistry, and have a strong appeal to the masses so that vast numbers of workers will conscientiously receive an education in a cheerful atmosphere, thus helping strengthen enterprises' ideological and political work.

The Shengli Oilfield has made many useful attempts to do a good job in launching mass cultural activities.

"The age-old Huang He is roaring at our feet, and the young land is extending underfoot. We are equipped with boldness of vision and the spirit of the nation. We are determined to change the warm blood that fills our bosoms into surging oil, and contribute it to the motherland and the people. We are marching forward triumphantly." Whenever the workers of the Shengli Oilfield Administrative Bureau sing this song, they are filled with heroic spirit. In the spring of 1986, 100,000 oil workers started the mammoth battle for oil at Gudong when they sang this song. When the first 100-day-long campaign came to a triumphant conclusion, a meeting was held to present trophies. The meeting organizers invited wives of those advanced workers who had rendered outstanding service to attend the meeting, and let them wear a big red flower, as did their husbands. Then the song "The Moon on the 15th Day of the Lunar Month" was specially broadcast for them. This beautiful song expressed their understanding of the oil industry for which their husbands worked, and radiated the oil workers' spirit of selflessness and utter devotion. When these devoted wives watched the videotapes showing how their husbands and fellow workers had worked hard at their work posts, they deepened their love for the oil industry. This prize-awarding meeting, which bore a cultural characteristic, achieved remarkable results and encouraged the workers to successfully build in a short time the biggest high-quality oilfield in the country over the last few years. The spirit of "hard struggle, seeking truth from facts, solidarity and cooperation, blazing new trails, and devotion" displayed in the battle for oil is exactly the enterprise spirit of the Shengli Oilfield Administrative Bureau.

It is necessary to have a stable contingent to carry out cultural activities, which are loved by workers. It is also necessary to work out a series of regulations and measures so that cultural activities will become a regular practice. The Shengli Oilfield Administrative Bureau established a 30-member cultural troupe to spread and improve cultural activities among the workers. This cultural troupe works on the forefront of oil production all year round, and is referred to by the workers as the "big covered-truck cultural troupe." The troupe is small in number but highly trained, and each member can play different parts. For instance, the driver of the covered truck is also the troupe leader and a trombone player.

The troupe always goes where the work is the hardest. The Shengli Oilfield is located on the Huang He delta, and there are altogether 208 "man-and-wife wells" all over the outlying desert sands. A well is taken care of jointly by a couple, and the conditions are extremely tough. The cultural troupe, making nothing of hardships, tours every well, giving performances as an expression of appreciation. Though the audience is always composed of only husband and wife, the troupe is scrupulous about every detail of their work. The audiences are in high spirits throughout and shed tears of gratitude when they watch the performances. Over and over, they say with feeling, "Thanks for the administration's concern." The workers are not only grateful to the performers, but also, to a greater degree, to their leaders, the party, and the government. In the process of preparing for theatrical performances and contests, members of the cultural troupe always act as natural advisers and directors of participating units. In addition, the cultural troupe also plays a major supporting role in helping the party and government propaganda departments with their central tasks. All secondary companies under the Shengli Oilfield Administrative Bureau and the oil extraction mill trade union have set up cultural stations, and several units have their own amateur cultural troupes. On New Year's Day or other festivals when the leadership goes to the grassroots units to express appreciation or extend congratulations to those units that have rendered outstanding service in production, they do not take with them bonuses or prizes, but theatrical items, which encourage the workers to work harder. The oilfield administration often holds various joint theatrical performances by workers, and many workers regard the opportunity to take the stage and perform as an honor.

The biggest strong point of mass cultural activities is that we can combine education with recreation. Cultural activities are better than empty preaching in that they have a strong appeal to the masses, and they are able to touch the audience and give them a useful enlightenment and education. It is necessary for the cultural activities to have varied and lively forms so that vast numbers of workers will feel like joining in them. The Shengli Oilfield Administrative Bureau holds a "Huang He Cup" singing contest every other year; the responsible cadres of participating groups act as conductors; experts are invited to judge among the contestants when the contest reaches the finals; and the oilfield TV broadcasts the contest live. Being too impatient to wait, hundreds of thousands of workers and their family members turn on their TV sets long before the live broadcast begins. They give up other programs, and all their minds are glued to the screen. When they see that the delegation from their unit is given high marks, the whole family will burst into a cheerful outcry, and they will run around spreading the news after the contest. When the battle for oil in Bonan Oilfield was in full swing, the organizers of the battle, instead of holding a victory meeting as usual and relying on bonuses and material incentives to boost morale, held a poetry reading contest at the work site. Factory directors, managers, drilling team leaders with a college

education, and workers who worked with furious energy at the forefront of oil production took the stage in turn. The poems were based mostly on the personal feelings they had during the battle for oil, so they reflected the real situation and struck a sympathetic chord among vast numbers of workers. Quite a number of well-written poems spread far and wide among workers on the forefront of production, encouraging them to pitch in.

To cultivate enterprise spirit and strengthen ideological and political work, it is necessary to upgrade mass cultural activities. Some enterprise leaders once thought that cultural activities are nothing more than seeking pleasure. It is enough so long as we can prevent young people from making trouble. When the trade union or the league committee held cultural contests in the past, there were only several "traditional items" such as Chinese checkers, poker, and tug-of-war, and the organizers had only a little simple cultural consciousness. These are far from enough if we are to cultivate enterprise spirit. It is necessary to strengthen the enterprise cultural consciousness in the workers' minds, because it is obscure, changing it into a conscientious cultural consciousness. It is necessary to hold high-grade and comprehensive cultural activities such as TV knowledge contests, poetry-reading contests, debates, and cultural lectures, and bring forth new ideas in their formats and content. Taking into account the fact that a greater number of young people joined the worker ranks in the last few years, we must be good at studying new problems arising from them and their new demands. It is necessary to integrate personal interests with collective and national interests, proceeding from the close to the distant and in light of actual conditions of the enterprises, so that the workers will gradually heighten their political awareness. The trade unions and league committees at all levels under the Shengli Oilfield Administrative Bureau organized model workers, young pacesetters, and experts at technical innovation on various oil production fronts into a mobile propaganda team, and presented their heroic deeds on the TV screen so that they would be known to every household in the oilfield. This practice achieved very good results.

Encouraging the masses to read books helps cultivate enterprise spirit. In those years when the oil workers fought a battle for oil decades ago, they studied "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" around the bonfire and built the Daqing Oilfield independently by relying upon the two essays. Carrying forward this fine tradition, the Shengli Oilfield allots special funds for books every year and sends fine mental food to the workers. They appropriate 200,000 yuan at one stroke to buy books for the units on the forefronts, and frequently provide new books. They provide "mobile book boxes" for remote oil wells or stations. When a box of books has been finished, they will supply new books regularly. They also recommend good books to young workers, organize collective study of the books, hold meetings to review the books, and carry out speech contests on those books. The slogan "reading good books is honorable, reading bad books shameful" has become the

order of the day here, effectively rejecting the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Whether an enterprise possesses potential supremacy for development is subject to the cultural, ideological, and moral quality of its staff. The oil industry has gradually cultivated a unique fine tradition and cultural quality through long-term efforts. In launching mass cultural activities, the Shengli Oilfield Administrative Bureau devotes great efforts to encouraging the workers to conscientiously learn and carry forward these fine traditions, continually improving their quality. Healthy and useful popular cultural activities have enabled vast numbers of oil workers to radiate the spirit as masters of their country and the social sense of responsibility, encouraging them to make greater contributions for the motherland.

Strength From Being 'Serious'

HK2811065089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 89 p 47

[Article by Yi Yunwen (2496 6663 2429)]

[Text] "Conscientiousness" can also be strength, just as "carelessness" once existed around us as a kind of huge strength. These two kinds of strength, however, apply in different directions. Reportedly, our country once exported a type of plastic bag to Japan but the Chinese characters "Wu [3527] of Urumqi" printed on the bags had an extra dot and became another character "Niao" [7680]. The Japanese side then returned the whole batch of goods to the Chinese exporter, who thus incurred a loss of more than 1 million yuan. This amount was equivalent to the value created by 1,000 workers in 100 days. Didn't this show the huge strength of "carelessness"? If the quality controller had worked a little bit more seriously, would it not have been possible to completely avoid the loss of more than 1 million yuan?

However, I indeed felt the strength of "conscientiousness" when I recently went to Jiangxi for news coverage. During my 1-week stay there I was not invited to any dinner and did not see any mayor, party secretary, or department head offer a dinner to a guest or visitor in a guesthouse. This was completely different from what I saw a year ago in Jiangxi. At that time, I saw that the guesthouses in some cities, counties, and townships were full of banqueters who were consuming lavish dishes every day. A mayor told me with a frown, "As a mayor, the most displeasing job for me is to repeatedly attend banquets in the company of guests or visitors. Those whom I need to accompany to the dinners include reporters, provincial officials, and people coming from other localities. If I do not attend the dinners I will be regarded as being impolite toward the visitors. I must also attend the banquets arranged by subordinate units. If I decline the invitation from a subordinate unit, I will be regarded as putting on airs. At a feast, I must drink. Sometimes, I had to quit one feast halfway through in order to attend another feast. This indeed bothered me to an extreme degree." When hearing this, I felt that the

practice of eating and drinking might have become a chronic and stubborn disease in Jiangxi, which could not be thoroughly cured. Beyond my expectations, a miracle had occurred in Jiangxi in the short period of 6 months. The guesthouses at various levels, which used to be the places for unceasing feasts of different sizes, have now become rather desolate. What special methods were used to cure the annoying disease? I was told that the provincial party committee and government in Jiangxi recently made a decision on resolutely checking the practice of lavish dining. Seven stipulations were laid down on the arrangement of meals for officials and each stipulation included many detailed points. For example, it was stipulated that "all leading cadres and functionaries in party or government institutions at various levels in this province must follow the food-dividing system for their meals when they perform official duties in other localities of this province." The so-called "food-dividing system" means that "each person can have only three different dishes and one soup per meal and these three dishes must include one vegetable dish." More detailed points were included in the stipulation: "Apart from some chili, garlic, pickles, and other spices, no other small meat dishes can be added to the meal. Such expensive dishes as frogs, sea cucumbers, soft-shelled turtles, crabs, prawns, shark's fins, and fish maw cannot be added to the meal." It seems that even those who used to be skillful in adopting "countermeasures" against the policies laid down by the upper authorities will find no loophole from the stipulations on food. If someone violates the stipulation, what penalties will he face? It was stipulated that "those who violate the stipulations will be penalized and openly criticized, with a bill put on the bulletin board of their own units, and their cases will be reported to the upper authorities who will then issue circulars to criticize and make public their scandals." There were more detailed points for penalties but the above quotations alone fully demonstrate the serious attitude of the provincial party committee and government in Jiangxi toward checking the practice of lavish dining among officials. This time, they did not merely employ empty talk, but were really "conscientious" in doing something effective.

Handling things "conscientiously" is the constant work style of the Communist Party and this needs no further explanation. However, the style of being "conscientious" has not been seen in some of our government institutions or among functionaries for a long time. On the contrary, the perfunctory work attitude could be found frequently in recent years. For example, those who violated discipline could be exempted from any punishment after being warned that "no such thing must be repeated." As another example, imported equipment was laid on open ground and exposed to sun and rain until it was scrapped and economic losses amounted to several million yuan or even more than 10 million yuan. Those who were responsible for this were let off without being punished and the losses were regarded as a "tuition fee." When systems or regulations were formulated, things were merely stipulated "in principle" and when concrete

measures were adopted, there could be various "exceptional cases." Those who were skillful in taking "countermeasures" against official policies could thus frequently take advantage of such loopholes. If it was stipulated that the meal for officials could only have four dishes and one soup, then they packed sea cucumbers, shark's fins, crabs, prawns, and other expensive food all on a single plate and described this as only one dish. No wonder the practice of lavish dining continued to spread unchecked. This time, the provincial party committee and government in Jiangxi did not resort to any panacea in order to check the practice of lavish dining and only adopted "conscientiousness." First, their attitude is serious; second, their measures were serious; and third, their supervision and inspection was serious. If we work so conscientiously, no problem in the world cannot be resolved and even the toughest disease can also be cured!

By relying on the strength of "conscientiousness" we can check the practice of lavish dining. Then, as long as we are conscientious, we can also effectively check the irregularities in importing cars, offering professional titles, neglecting education, and taking bribes and graft. With conscientiousness, what can we not tackle?

"What really counts in the world is conscientiousness and the Communist Party is most particular about being conscientious." In the past, we indeed were particular about being "conscientious." In the years of war, a cadre would be criticized if he took away a needle from the masses. However, in recent years, a section chief could build a luxurious house with a floor space of more than 200 square meters for his family and such a case was not noticed and handled by anyone for a long time. In fact, "conscientiousness" is indispensable in socialist modernization. Conscientiousness means that all things should be handled in a scientific way. It is now the time to seriously call for being "conscientious."

Sparks of Science and Technology Speed Up the Blossoming of the Flowers of Art—A Random Talk on the Teleplay *Joy of Bashan*

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[Article by Gao Xin (7559 9515)]

[Text] After reading the teleplay script entitled *Joy of Bashan* written by Comrade Wang Dailong, I felt a sort of untold joy emerging from the bottom of my heart. At a time when the schools of "transcending reality" and of "self-manifestation" prevailed in China's literary and artistic circles, I was gratified to find someone writing in such a down-to-earth manner, in accordance with the principle of realist creation, and focusing his eyes upon our era of reform, our life, and all the people who are presently engaged in reform. At a time when some people were going all-out to advocate "worship of the West" and "total Westernization," I was pleased to see someone ignoring the influence of these prevailing ideological trends, singing the praises of the fine traditions of our Chinese nation, and

creating a teleplay with our national and local characteristics. It was by no means easy for someone to write a teleplay such as this, during this time.

The teleplay focused on the conflict between traditional pig-raising methods and scientific methods, in turn portraying the ideological conflict between the old generation represented by people like Li Laosan and Qian Fachun, and the new generation represented by Qian Chunsheng and Tie Niu, subtly delineating the contradiction and struggle between science and ignorance at a time when China is undergoing great historical changes, and showing the final victory of science and civilization in rural areas. It portrayed mainly Qian Chunsheng, a rural youth. In order to make his own contributions to the implementation of the state scientific and technological "Spark program" and the popularization of scientific pig-raising methods, Qian Chunsheng, a new graduate from the Institute of Agriculture, voluntarily gave up a chance to work in the provincial animal husbandry bureau and returned to his hometown in a distant mountainous area to start raising pigs. He led the youth of his village to carry out scientific experiments, teach them scientific pig-raising methods, and organized them to build a forage processing factory in his village. Through his personal efforts and arduous work, the peasants gradually came to realize the importance of scientific farming in their agricultural production. As a result of the rapid development of the pig raising industry, the Sichuan pigs finally found a good market in other Chinese provinces and regions, and throughout the world. The Bashan peasants, who had made great contributions to the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's livelihood, finally felt happy. The whole teleplay vividly embodies the far-reaching ideology of "science and technology capable of invigorating agriculture" and sang the praises of the scientific and technological personnel who have bravely carried out the reform, spread the sparks of science and technology, raised labor productivity, and guided people to shake off the yoke of the ancient natural economy and take the road of the socialist commodity economy. The teleplay also successfully depicted the intellectuals' persistent pursuit of the value of life as well as the new mental attitude of the Bashan people who are actively carrying out the exploitation of the natural resources of their mountainous areas by relying on science and technology.

In order to shoot the teleplay, our Broadcasting Institute immediately organized a troupe (with Liu Yuling as director). We intended for our television viewers, who are accustomed to watching pop song singers rocking and rolling on the stage and watching exciting Gongfu movies, to see the true face of China's rural areas and the

peasants, who have not been seen by the viewers for some time, so as to enable them to acquire a clear understanding of our era of great social changes; to see how the "Spark program" has changed the traditional concepts of the Chinese peasants; and how the ideology of "science and technology capable of invigorating agriculture" has gradually won the support of the broad masses of the Chinese peasants; and to conscientiously reflect upon the traditional plain truth in China, which is that "people are most concerned about food."

After several months of hard work, we finally completed production and broadcast *Joy of Bashan* for the first time. Recently, it has been broadcast by the Central Television Station and has thus attracted the attention of the State Science and Technology Commission, which later decided to broadcast it at the 4th National "Spark Program" Work Conference. After watching it, the old generation of proletarian revolutionaries from Sichuan Province were deeply touched and warmly praised the author and the producer.

The teleplay has drawn its material from the realistic life in China's rural areas, which are currently undergoing a profound reform, and has succeeded in vividly portraying the profound changes in the ideological concepts of the Chinese peasants. Nevertheless, I believe its significance lies not only in the fact that it is a teleplay of excellent artistic mastery. If we look at it from an artistic point of view, we see it is not one of the best teleplays produced, because it still contains a lot of artistic defects. In my view, its significance lies in the fact that at a time when some people in China's literary and artistic circles were going all out to advocate the school of transcending reality and the school of self-manifestation, *Joy of Bashan* turned instead to depict the realities in China's rural areas and adopted a realistic approach to life. At a time when people were dazzled by a variety of new methods of literary and artistic creation and perplexed by a variety of new ideological trends, *Joy of Bashan* adheres to the principle of realistic literary and artistic creation, and explicitly depicts the developments and profound changes in China's rural areas at a time when China is undergoing a great reform—I believe that this is the main enlightenment that *Joy of Bashan* has given us.

I believe that, along with the implementation of the scientific and technological "Spark program," fundamental changes will certainly take place in China's still backward rural areas. With fundamental changes taking place in Chinese society, we will certainly find more material for our literary and artistic creation so that we will be able to write and produce more and better teleplays concerning the implementation of the "Spark program."

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